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Joseph Kraft

Ramsey Clark: The Hope of the Liberals

NEW YORK—"Do the liberals have a darling this year?" a wife asked her husband in a recent New Yorker cartoon. The answer is yes. He's Ramsey Clark, the former Attorney General running for Senate here in New York against the Republican veteran, Jacob Javits.

Though Mr. Clark may not win, he is pressing Sen. Javits hard. In the process he has developed, in this supposedly issueless year, a potent issue and a set of fund-raising techniques apt to become an enduring part of national politics.

Both with respect to technique and issues, the distinctive feature of the race is a decision made by Clark last summer to limit all campaign contributions to \$100 per person. At the time, savvy pros scoffed.

But the results have shown that an appeal to small givers can work miracles. Over \$20,000 per day is now pouring into Clark headquarters, on Madison Avenue. The total raised is approaching \$500,000—more than three times what was originally expected.

The Clark organization has had to rent a special room to process the incoming contributions. A computer service has been hired to check through all donations to make sure that no person gives more than the \$100 limit. On the day I visited the money room, the bags sent over by the bank weren't big enough to hold the bulk bundle of checks and cash which had arrived in the mail.

"The bags sent over by the bank weren't big enough to hold the bulk bundle of checks and cash which had arrived in the mail."

The techniques for reaching small givers include solicitation by mail, sale of T-shirts and booklets, and a TV film which cost \$11,000 to make and yielded \$12,000 in contributions on its first showing. Whatever happens to Clark, these techniques have a future, for the new national campaign spending law with its limit of \$1,000 on individual gifts, puts a high premium on reaching large numbers of small givers.

Clark had used the fund-raising operation for more than financial purposes. In appearances all over the state, speaking in a slow, careful Texas drawl, he has pounded away at a single theme. The argument is that money in politics is the central issue before the country.

He talks about the economy and inflation, and claims that a major requirement is tax reform. But tax reform can't be achieved, he says, as long as congressmen and senators are beholden to the big campaign givers. He talks about personal integrity and

truth in government. "We've been soft on truth," he says, and he relates that to government officials having to "keep silent" about their financial connections.

Goosey as they may seem, these comments hit sharply at Sen. Javits. Clark does not hesitate to point out that Javits accepted a \$15,000 gift from Nelson Rockefeller, on whose vice presidential nomination he may have to vote. Clark regularly contrasts Javits' silence on Watergate with the demand for resignation voiced by the conservative senator from New York, James Buckley.

If nothing else, the Javits response shows that these thrusts strike home. The senator started off with a high-level campaign emphasizing his experience and seniority.

But last week Javits began featuring a TV spot which showed Elliott Richardson, the former Attorney General who resigned over Watergate, praising his "integrity." At an appearance in Buffalo he said that recent financial

disclosures might put the Rockefeller nomination in jeopardy. In a joint appearance at Temple Emmanuel here, Javits issued this warning about Clark: "It is my duty to ask the people of New York to hold onto themselves before they make what I consider a fatal mistake." Then Javits asked the CIA to make public recordings of broadcasts made by North Vietnam when Clark visited Hanoi in 1972.

Clark's strong campaign is also registered in a poll taken by Newsday in the first week of this month. Javits led with 39 per cent against 32 per cent for Clark, 9 per cent for a conservative party candidate, and 20 per cent undecided. For an incumbent as well known as Javits, the huge undecided vote in itself spells trouble.

The probability is that Clark cannot close the gap. Javits is a strong campaigner and he has been an excellent senator. He has the money for a last-minute TV blitz. The head of the Republican ticket, Gov. Malcolm Wilson, though still running well behind Congressmen Hugh Carey in the race for governor, seems to be strengthening the party grip upstate.

But there is an outside chance Clark can make it. If he does, he will have scored the political upset of the year, and be in a strong position to take George McGovern's place as the liberal hope for the Democratic presidential nomination.

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Marquis Childs

President Ford's 'Give and Take' Economics

East Bay history to hold such a post. Mrs. Penn, wife of a policeman, has been an Alameda County sheriff's deputy since 1971.

win votes—screaming at the utilities and dramatically filing suit to halt rate hikes,” an ad for the Steele campaign proclaimed in yesterday’s papers.

mission times that were to be put in next year have been cut by 25 per cent, as has construction of sub stations. A computer installation has been postponed. Inventories of

Javits Gets C.I.A. Tapes on Clark's Visit to Hanoi

By STEVEN R. WEISMAN

Senator Jacob K. Javits said yesterday that he had requested and received tape recordings from the Central Intelligence Agency of interviews given by Ramsey Clark and broadcast by the Hanoi radio during Mr. Clark's trip to North Vietnam in 1972.

The Senator's move was angrily denounced by Mr. Clark, the Democratic candidate for United States Senate, as “a fraud on the American people” and a “theatrical” attempt to “drag the C.I.A. into a political campaign.”

Mr. Javits declined yesterday to say why he had sought the recordings other than to explain that his office wanted “to see what he did say over there” and to determine “the effect he had when he was there” on the treatment of prisoners of war.

But a spokesman for the Javits campaign indicated that the Senator would address himself to the Hanoi visit at a news conference today.

The disclosure that Mr. Javits had obtained the tape recordings marked the first time that Mr. Clark's controversial trip in

Democrat Denounces Move as a 'Theatrical' Attempt to Put Agency in Campaign

August, 1972, has emerged as an issue in the campaign for the Senate. When it took place—in the midst of Presidential campaign—it was denounced by several officials in the Nixon Administration.

The controversy focused on statements by Mr. Clark, broadcast on the Hanoi radio, reporting that he had seen large-scale destruction of dikes and residential areas caused by American bombing. He was quoted as having said: “There is absolutely no excuse for bombing North Vietnam and there never has been.”

Mr. Clark, who was United States Attorney General under President Lyndon B. Johnson, said yesterday that, while in Hanoi, he had refused a request to give a formal interview for airing on the Hanoi radio. But he added that, throughout his visit, he had been interviewed

frequently and that his remarks often had been recorded, presumably for later broadcast.

Senator Javits denied that he was “politicizing” the C.I.A., as Mr. Clark charged. He said that the tape recordings were available to anyone under the Freedom of Information Act.

In McLean, Va., a spokesman for the C.I.A. said the Javits request had been received Oct. 11 and that the tapes—two cassettes constituting some 45 minutes of recordings—had been transmitted Oct. 21. He said Mr. Javits had been given no preferential treatment in the transmission of the tapes.

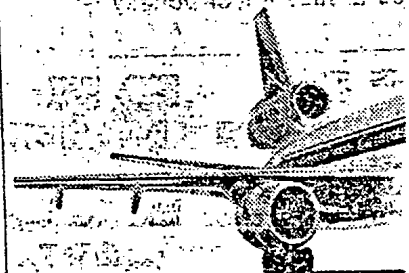
The tapes were sent to John Trubin, Mr. Javits's campaign manager, with a covering letter from William E. Colby, director of Central Intelligence. The letter said that they had been produced by the Foreign Broadcast Information Service, a C.I.A. division that regularly monitors foreign broadcasts, and that transcripts were “disseminated routinely to many libraries and research institutions.” It added that, because the material was not classified, the C.I.A. was “legally required” to furnish it to anyone requesting it.

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3:00a K Night Coach	

L: LaGuardia, N: Newark, K: One-way fares: Day Tour Night First Class \$70, Night



Javits Gets CIA-Made Tape of Clark

By Bob Kuttner
Washington Post Staff Writer

A spokesman for the Central Intelligence Agency said yesterday that the CIA had given Sen. Jacob K. Javits (R-N.Y.) tapes of Radio Hanoi broadcasts it monitored during former U.S. Attorney General Ramsey Clark's 1972 trip to North Vietnam.

Javits, who is running for re-election against Clark, the Democratic senatorial candidate, announced yesterday that he plans to make Clark's Hanoi trip a campaign issue.

The CIA spokesman said the agency was "obligated to supply copies of the tapes under the Freedom of Information Act," since the tapes are not classified.

Javits' request for the tapes was received at CIA headquarters Oct. 11. Copies of the tapes, which run about 45 minutes, were sent to Javits' campaign manager Oct. 21. A covering letter from CIA Director William Colby noted that the tapes were unclassified, and therefore available to anyone.

The CIA notified Clark of the Javits request "as a courtesy," the spokesman said, noting that this is a customary procedure whenever the agency provides information on a U.S. citizen obtained from a monitored foreign broadcast.

The spokesman added that the CIA normally provides copies of transcripts rather than tapes through the Foreign Broadcast Information Service, but that Javits' request was not unique. He said he did not know whether a senator or a congressman had ever gotten a tape from the CIA for use in a political cam-

paign, but insisted that "they're public property. The fact that it's related to political campaigning is not relevant."

Clark has denounced Javits' move as an attempt to involve the CIA in domestic politics. During his August 1972 trip to North Vietnam, Clark reported seeing widespread destruction of civilian areas caused by American bombing, which he condemned.

Clark declined to give a formal interview to Radio Hanoi, but some of his impromptu remarks apparently were recorded and later broadcast.

A spokesman for Javits said last night that Javits initially got transcripts of the broadcast from the Library of Congress and that the library had referred Javits to the CIA to get the actual tapes. Peter Teeley, a Javits press aide, said the senator had not yet had a chance to listen to the tapes, and was reserving judgment.

Clark, meanwhile, accused Javits of "a cheap theatrical trick." A spokesman said Clark has also obtained copies of the tapes and will release them today in an effort to lay the matter to rest.

cally broad spectrum of the state, while Eckerd...

of the state GOP, has been less successful. Eckerd did receive an endorsement last week from the Florida League of Conservation Voters, a coalition of environmental activists, after the group had met with both Eckerd and Stone to discuss conservation issues.

Some organizers claim they have support from all major opponents, liberal and conservative, whom Stone defeated in the Democratic primary for Senate earlier this year. Eckerd workers say that support is fractured and lukewarm, and some key workers for moderate and conservative opponents have joined Eckerd's campaign.

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Meet president, Walter Green.

7 Corners:

Friday, October 25, 3:00-9:00 p.m.

Montgomery Malt

Saturday, October 26, 10:00-6:00 p.m.

Appointments can be made 628-7730.

Storm Intensifies

MANILA, Oct. 23 (UPI)—Tropical storm Della intensified into a typhoon today and slammed across the northern Philippine Islands with 80-miles-an-hour winds. The weather bureau said if the typhoon stays on its present course it should hit Hong Kong within the next two days.

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New York Race Heats Up

Javits and Clark Publicize Hanoi Trip

By William Claiborne
Washington Post Staff Writer

NEW YORK, Oct. 24—Republican Sen. Jacob Javits and his Democratic opponent in the November election, Ramsey Clark, practically fell over each other today in their hurry to "make public" transcripts of remarks made by Clark during his 1972 visit to Hanoi.

In an early morning press conference, Javits said that he was furnishing reporters with the transcripts as a "courtesy and convenience," and he accused Clark of having been "exploited" by the North Vietnamese during his much-publicized two-week visit to Hanoi.

Only the day before, Javits had disclosed that he obtained tape recordings of Clark's broadcast of anti-war statements from the Central Intelligence Agency and had concluded from them that Clark was "not qualified" to serve in the Senate.

Less than two hours after Javits' press conference today, Clark summoned reporters to his Fifth Avenue storefront campaign office and issued new copies of the transcripts of the Hanoi broadcasts, which were identical to those released by Javits.

Clark said that his statements had been widely publicized in 1972 and were printed verbatim in several publications. Quoting from a letter written Monday by CIA Director William E. Colby to a member of the Javits re-election committee, Clark said the monitored broadcast had been

"disseminated routinely to many libraries and research institutions" and was not classified in any way.

"To end the suspense for all of you who do not have a public library card," Clark said dryly, "I am today releasing transcripts of these tapes."

Obviously amused by what has become a media cause celebre in the New York senatorial campaign, Clark displayed a stack of five cassette tape recordings that he said he had obtained from the CIA after Javits had obtained his copies.

Clark shrugged off suggestions that his controversial two-week visit to Hanoi in 1972 was a political liability in this campaign, and he suggested that Javits was acting out of "desperation" by raising the issue.

The most recent public opinion poll in New York State, conducted for Newsday, showed that Clark was only 7 percentage points behind Jav-

its, with 20 per cent of the voters undecided. As recently as September, Clark was given no chance to unseat Javits, the mightiest Republican vote-getter in New York for 18 years.

Of his peace-seeking mission to Hanoi, Clark said, "I didn't say anything over there that I hadn't said before, that I haven't said since, and that I won't say until the day I die."

Clark, an Attorney General in President Johnson's administration, called Javits a "Nixon thug," and said that Javits had contrived with "CREEP agents such as John Mitchell and Spiro Agnew and other surrogates of Richard Nixon" to conceal the bombing of North Vietnam by attacking the 1972 visits to Hanoi by several anti-war groups.

Mr. Nixon's re-election unit, the Committee for the Re-election of the President, was often referred to as "CREEP."

"The Javits-CIA tapes stunt is Watergate politics in the style of Richard Nixon... hopefully, this little orgy of McCarthyism is over, and we will get back to the issues that are important to New Yorkers," Clark said.

In Washington, a CIA spokesman said that Javits requested the tapes on Oct. 11 and that copies of the Hanoi broadcasts were delivered to the senator's office on Oct. 21. Javits said he had previously obtained typewritten transcripts from the Library of Congress' research service.

In a letter to a Javits re-election official, John Trubin, a copy of which was released by Clark, CIA Director Colby said, "This material (the tapes) is not classified and this agency is thus legally required to furnish it to any individual under the Freedom of Information Act..."

On Wednesday, Javits told newsmen the CIA had given him the tapes as a "courtesy" so that he could validate the accuracy of the typewritten transcripts.